1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
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224 sprung free of the ' tap ' of the *dim-kola* and so released the back end of the *mirpos-kola*, the front end of which would have given way beneath the weight of the *adam-guryu* cross-beam and brought the stone-weighted *kalk-panj* fall beams crashing down on to the animal, while the *adam-guryu* fell into the slot prepared for it in the ground. The trap had been set for six weeks with no result, and they had not tried making a trap of this kind for years. It looked too fragile for any but a very small panther ; the bait-stick was barely 2½ feet from the mouth of the trap ; and the fall even at the mouth was only 20 inches. Kalmu Boda, the expert *shikari* who is *pargana* headman of the Bison-horn villages around Barsur, was openly scornful.

Snares and springes for pea-fowl, jungle-fowl and snipe, and bird-lime for other birds, with occasional nets for birds or deer complete the Hill Maria's hunting equipment. I have not seen him using nets ; the villages where most nets are to be seen are those near the Bison-horn country, and their users presumably copy Bison-horn methods.

Bison-horn Maria hunting

In the most advanced and thickest populated parts of the Bison-horn Maria country, such as the Paknar, Katakalian and Kuakonda tracts, it is difficult to find any wild creature except birds and insects. In Hindu India the monkey is always present, being sacred and so free to devour anyone's crops. The Maria eats monkey as readily as any other animal, and the monkey long ago decided to avoid his lands. At my camp at Katakalian there was a sudden shout and dozens of Marias left me to rush at a tree on which someone had seen a luckless flying squirrel (*Pteromys petaurista*). Even hares and rats are said to be less common here than elsewhere. Like Hill Marias, Bison-horn Marias spend hours digging out field rats and [252] mice, carefully wrapping each victim in grass before carrying them home in glee to roast them whole skewered on bamboo spits, singeing off the fur. They sell and buy rat meat in the markets, either raw, or in little jerked squares on bamboo spits ; but that [195] they are getting sensitive to ridicule on this account is shown by the fact that the buyer must ask for ' earth-roots ', not rats or mice. Frogs are another delicacy, also spitted and roast. Python, *daman* [253] and non-poisonous snakes are eagerly sought after ; for ordinary eating they skin, slice and fillet the snake and stew it with spices, when they say it tastes midway between fish and chicken. Small portions of python separately cooked are regarded as a valuable cure for ' pot-belly '.

The great round of ritual vernal hunts preceding sowing have been the chief cause of the extermination of game. The religious

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585 house, and are given *landa* to drink. At the meal in the Place of the Departed the couple are exhorted by the bridegroom's father to live together in unity and concord, and to be faithful. All night the drums roll and guests pour in to dance and drink *landa* or sing around the bride and bridegroom, the men wearing their bison-horn dancing head-dresses. Ultimately next morning the couple are made to stand on a hurdle under the eaves of the hut constructed for them, and a kinsman of the girl's father climbs on the roof and tips a pot of water over them. The boy then drags the girl into
[353] the hut, both pushed by willing hands, and the door is fastened on them and a bamboo-matting curtain hung over it. After a while they emerge, and the bride takes a ceremonial farewell of the girls of her village, and the guests disperse. Finally in the evening she is thrust into the bridal hut by her husband's younger brothers and his friends, her husband being already inside awaiting her.

In the account of the Ganjenar-Massenar wedding which follows, naturally no description can be given of the scenes in the *narma-lon* rooms of the bride's and bridegroom's fathers, to which outsiders are not admitted, or of other parts of the wedding ceremonies which I did not actually see. The bridegroom was the son of Atrami Hunga of Massenar, the younger brother of Atrami Kopa Dhurwa, a very influential headman who was decorated by the late Raja of Bastar for keeping that *pargana* quiet during the 1910 rebellion, and the bride was the daughter of Kunjami Harma, the headman of Ganjenar. When I reached the latter's house, which was about two miles from my camp at Massenar, the bridegroom and his party had arrived, and the relatives' dinner was over. The bride had gone to a tank to be bathed by her elder sister and her brother's wife; the bridegroom and his father were walking about talking to the guests and the bride's male relatives. There were not many persons present, perhaps 150 all told; a few men were beating their dancing drums, but none were wearing their bison-horn head-dresses. Around the door of the separate sleeping hut used
[533 by Kunjami Harma's daughters and other womenfolk, some thirty
831 women were standing shoulder to shoulder, swaying to and fro and
● 195] singing a choral refrain of '*Kokolin-waya*' to obscene verses sung by a laughing woman in the centre of the group. Another band of women hurled abuse at them at intervals, when the leader of each band tried to out-Billingsgate the other.

535 When the bride had been bathed, she emerged from the sleeping
585 hut with a cloth wrapped over her shoulders, and was dragged into a chain of dancing and singing girls with their arms closely linked, while the bridegroom, also with a cloth over his shoulders, was pushed into another chain. These chains of girls circled and

3: Elwin E-5 (1935-1942) 1943
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the time for trembling'. He took the axe out of Bhima's hand and struck the landlord two more blows with the sharp edge. Just then they caught sight of two men coming by. They hurriedly dropped their weapons and stood upright with their hands straight down round the landlord's body so that the passers-by could not see what was happening. These men were going to get some meat from a dead cow which was lying near a tank in the next village. They do not seem to have seen anything, and went on their way. Another witness came by and he saw Pandu look cautiously round and then rub the blade of his axe in the earth and throw it down beside the landlord's body. This witness was so frightened that he did not go to get meat from the dead cow as he originally intended, but went home and lay down.

This story shows on the one hand an unusual degree of premeditation and a careful adherence to plan, and on the other a rather unusual susceptibility on the part of some of those concerned in the affair. The youth Bhima, who was Pandu's bond-servant, evidently had no heart in the business and trembled so much after striking one blow that he could do no more. One witness was so frightened that he could hardly walk and had to go home and lie down. Without the urging of Pandu, who seems to have been an unusual type of criminal, the other men would certainly have never carried out the plan. For this reason Pandu was sentenced to death and was executed, and the other murderers went for life-imprisonment.

III

The subject of aboriginal abuse or gali is obscure, and outsiders often find it hard to understand why expressions that are continually used in ordinary conversation should sometimes arouse the most passionate feelings of indignation. The most abusive terms are sometimes actually used in love-making, and a Maria employs the word *mailotia*, for example, which means 'cohabit with your mother' as freely as a British soldier uses the word 'bloody' and generally with as little meaning.

For gali to be offensive everything depends on the

3: Elwin E-5 (1935-1942) 1943
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x 674
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occasion, the tone of voice and the relationship of the people concerned. Word-magic is an important and dangerous element in Maria life. A witch can make a man impotent by giving him 'corpse-abuse'. It is possible for a man to use a normally inoffensive expression in a certain tone of voice, which under the circumstances is so dangerous and insulting as to lead to murder. A mother-in-law, for example, may abuse her son-in-law privately as much as she wishes. But if she shouts an insulting epithet at him in the presence of half the village, she has committed an unbearable insult.

x 674

Two types of abuse are not used in ordinary conversation. You do not call somebody a thief, unless you want trouble. You certainly do not call anyone a witch or a wizard. In a number of our cases the allegation that someone was a thief or a wizard led to murder.

Excreta-abuse is also not very common in daily life. In several cases it has led to murder. Thus the elder of two brothers told the younger that he was eating excreta. A son-in-law killed his father-in-law when he told him that he ate the excreta and drank the urine of his wife. A nephew killed his aunt for accusing him of eating excreta.

On two occasions fathers were killed by sons for insulting them. One father told his son to 'get out of the house' and was killed for it. Another father, who was asked by his son for a loan of money, replied that the boy might sell his own children for the money, but he would not get it from him. Such remarks were not to be endured.

Markami Turka killed his elder brother's wife Kosi for abusing him. He told her that if she did not do her work properly he would not give her cattle for cultivation, and she replied that 'her pubic hairs would not be pulled up' if she did not get them. This ought not to have greatly offended someone in that relationship, but it did: probably it was the way she said it.

Yet another case (not in our list) in which a father was murdered by his son was when a youth about nineteen years old, Poyami Lakhma, killed his father Linga in 1940. The two men had a drunken quarrel, and the father abused his son and told him to get out of his house. As before, this seems to have been regarded by the boy as an almost